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ARTICULATION BETWEEN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF EAST AFRICAN PASTORALISTS AND NON-FOOD ITEMS OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

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ABSTRACT This article explores the articulation sphere of the material culture of East African pastoralists and the non-food items of their humanitarian assistance. The non-food items of humanitarian assistance have never been considered from the viewpoint of the present material culture of pastoralists. To explore this gap, exhaustive commodity surveys were conducted among pastoral internally displaced persons (IDPs). Analysis of the survey data revealed the following points. 1) Clothing was the most important commodity for pastoral IDPs in the process of recovering household commodities. This finding suggests that redefining the meaning of the items distributed through humanitarian assistance is required. 2) Analysis of the survey data found that the proportion of purchased commodities had markedly increased, whereas that of gifted commodities had decreased, suggesting that humanitarian assistance to pastoral IDPs should be focused outside the stereotypical images of the dependency syndrome. 3) Female ties predominated in relationships between local donors and pastoral IDPs, implying that the role of female ties should be assessed as a potential safety net. 4) The pastoral IDPs used the distributed items from humanitarian agencies to meet their needs in various ways, suggesting that humanitarian assistance items are useful to the pastoralists both for their original purposes and for other purposes.

Key Words: Material culture; Non-food items; Commodity; Pastoral IDPs; Female ties.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the relationship of the material culture of East African pastoralists to non-food items of humanitarian assistance. This relationship is, specifically, the "articulation sphere," or the intermediate space between the local and the universal. Since the Ethiopian famine of 1983, international aid organizations, such as the United Nations World Food Programme, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and USAID, have provided humanitarian assistance to East African pastoral societies, mostly as food aid, in times of famine. Typical humanitarian assistance to East African pastoral societies has been assumed to be food aid to combat famine.

Interstate and intrastate conflicts have frequently occurred in East African countries, particularly since the end of the Cold War, and large numbers of pastoralists have become refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs). This type of displacement differs substantially from the nomadic movements of people in search of pasture and water for themselves and their animals. Fundamentally, nomadic pastoralists take all of their belongings with them when they relocate, but displaced pastoralists are forced to abandon their property when they evacuate. There-

fore, displaced pastoralists need basic commodities such as shelters, cooking and eating utensils, clothing, and food to survive. These basic commodities, excluding food, are categorized as "non-food items" in the humanitarian assistance discourse (Sphere Project, 2011). Non-food items are crucial to the survival of displaced pastoralists.

In addition, non-food items have been termed "material culture" in studies of the traditional culture of East African pastoralists. There have been many studies on the traditional material culture of East African pastoralists, most of which have been in archaeology and anthropology (Robbins, 1973; Larik, 1986, 1987; Prussin, 1995, 1996; Kassam & Megerssa, 1996; Bianco, 2000; Kratz & Pido, 2000; Grillo, 2014). East African pastoralists' material culture has undergone considerable transformation since the colonial and postcolonial periods. One important change was the sedentarization, or settling, in the twentieth century that transformed and made more permanent their mobile material culture. Another important factor was the introduction of the market economy, evidenced by the establishment of livestock markets that mostly progressed in the late twentieth century after market privatization (e.g., Konaka, 1997). Pastoralists sold their livestock and bought manufactured products with the profits. For example, the traditional goat leather skirt was replaced by synthetic fiber clothes imported from Southeast Asia and traditional wood water containers were replaced by factory-made plastic water containers.

Therefore, the material culture of East African pastoralists is no longer pure, traditional, mobile, natural, or subsistence-oriented. Rather, it can be characterized as an articulation of indigenous material culture with market commodity culture (Konaka, 2006). However, little attention has been paid to the articulation sphere of local and universal material cultures. In this study, material culture is taken to indicate the current realities of such articulations, not purely traditional culture.

If we redefine material culture from this perspective, the articulation sphere between non-food items and the current material culture of pastoralists appears. Non-food items of humanitarian assistance have never been considered from the perspective of the present material culture of pastoralists and vice versa. However, from the perspective of aid recipients (i.e., displaced pastoralists), non-food items and material culture are equally important because both are part of their lifestyle without qualification.

Based on these concerns and orientations, this study explores the articulation between material culture and non-food items of humanitarian assistance in East African pastoral societies. An exhaustive household commodity survey of pastoral IDPs was conducted. The analysis and interpretation of the survey data illustrate the process of recovering household commodities among the displaced pastoralists. In addition, a comparative analysis of pastoral ethnic groups reveals the nature of the culturally defined minimum commodities that are distinctive to each ethnic group. All personal names, group names, and country names were changed to pseudonyms to protect the subjects, whose human rights have been severely violated.

OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

I. Conflict and Displacement

This section outlines the history of conflict and displacement among the pastoralists who responded to the household commodity survey. Conflict between Ethnic Groups A and B broke out in 2004 in an East African country; the conflict inflicted heavy damage on local citizens. I have published several articles in Japanese and presented several papers elsewhere on this conflict (e.g. Konaka, 2013a, 2013b); hence, the conflict is only briefly outlined here. The participants in this survey were conflict-induced IDPs in Ethnic Group A, an East African pastoral society. According to the survey, the death toll from the conflict was 567. IDMC, an international NGO, estimated the number of IDPs have exceeded 22,000 (IDMC, 2006: 33). The conflict was neglected by national and international organizations alike, with the exception of IDMC and the Red Cross. The IDMC (2006: 33) lists a "lack of information" and the "neglect of conflict-induced IDPs" as distinguishing characteristics of the conflict.

The media and international organizations have indicated numerous factors as primary causes of the conflict, including traditional cattle-rustling activities, ethnic clashes, and clashes over scarce resources due to recurrent droughts related to global climate change. However, evidence obtained through this research contradicts these factors. This study found that the conflict was caused by a Member of Parliament (MP), X, from Ethnic Group B, who inflamed the parochialism of the local people to gain votes. He incited local people and administrative chiefs to violence. The more raids he initiated, the more politically popular MP X became. By contrast, the opposing candidate, who insisted on peaceful coexistence, was labeled as a coward, and he consequently lost votes. In this view, the conflict arose from identity politics (Kaldor, 1999) that had been developing in Ethnic Group B.

When the conflict broke out, all local residents evacuated to the eastern side of their area to save their lives and property. The former residential area of Ethnic Group A became a no man's land. However, after several months, the IDPs agreed to the development of a "clustered settlement" in order to return to their homeland. The settlements of Ethnic Group A are typically composed of fewer than 20 households. By contrast, according to my research, the average number of households in clustered settlements amounted to 167.5. The clustered settlements are thus far larger than normal settlements. The clustered settlements are locally and voluntarily formed IDP camps. The settlement was voluntarily formed because of a lack of national and international aid; national and international aid organizations seldom provide aid to these people. The clustered settlements of Ethnic Group A are all located on the western edge of their territory and no Ethnic Group A member lives beyond the clustered settlements. Therefore, these settlements are the "front line" of the conflict, which is visibly demonstrated in their territory. These settlements are also strongholds for survival and have been the target of attacks. As far as I could confirm in 2010, there were 10 clustered settlements around the area and the total estimated population of residents amounted

to 6,700. At one clustered settlement, which has a population of 1,280, eight elders are democratically elected as political leaders. The leaders are not allowed to impose strong political power and they are expected to work for the community without pay.

By 2010, this conflict was mostly over, apparently due in main part to political pressure exerted by the internal security minister of the country. Another reason was the powerful defense and counterattack of an impregnable clustered settlement of Ethnic Group A that led Ethnic Group B to abandon their invasion. When Ethnic Group B realized that Ethnic Group A was a formidable opponent, it shifted its attention to neighboring Ethnic Group C. In 2012, Ethnic Group B heavily attacked Ethnic Group C. The death toll was 22 and about 10,000 people were displaced. Unlike nomadic Ethnic Group A, settlements of Ethnic Group C comprised dispersed households of agro-pastoralists who did not form clustered settlements even after the attack by Ethnic Group B.

II. Exhaustive Household Commodity Survey

To explore the articulation between non-food items of humanitarian assistance and the material culture of displaced pastoralists, an exhaustive commodity survey was conducted among the pastoral IDPs of Ethnic Group A. Every commodity that every household had at the time of the survey was listed. Then, several related questions about the commodities were devised and identifying photographs were taken. The survey occurred in August and September 2011, three years after the conflict ended. The timing of the first evacuation varied from 2005 to 2009. After another three years, between August and September 2014, the survey was conducted again, targeting the same households. This survey method aimed to demonstrate the process of recovering household commodities among the pastoral IDPs during the three years between surveys.

All of the target households lost all of their livestock during the conflict, mainly due to abandonment during the evacuation of the two sampled clustered settlements. Those households that completely lost their livestock were targeted because they suffered the most from the conflicts and were the most neglected people. Livestock are pastoralists' most important possessions in terms of property, subsistence, market income, bride price, social network, prestige, and symbolic meaning. Therefore, completely losing one's livestock means losing all of these things. However, most studies on pastoralists have assumed livestock holdings or ownership and little is known about ex-pastoralists who have lost all their livestock. The targeted households were residents of the two largest clustered settlements of Ethnic Group A. Fourteen households in the largest clustered settlement had lost all their livestock, and nine households in the second largest clustered settlement had lost all their livestock. The total number of households that completely lost their livestock at both clustered settlements was 23. The total number of household commodities was 567. The average number of people per household was 3.5 in 2011 and 3.7 in 2014.

The household commodity survey also was conducted among the agro-pastoral IDPs of neighboring Ethnic Group C between August and September 2013, using

an identical methodology. Ethnic Group C comprises households of agro-pastoralists that differ from Ethnic Group A in language and culture. All of these households were displaced in October 2012. The household commodity survey was conducted for the 10 households that were living to the south of their original territory, and it purposively sampled the poorest households. Household commodities totaled 222, the average number of commodities per household was 22.2, and the average number of people per household was 5.1. On average, the agro-pastoral IDPs had 2.6 cattle, 17.2 goats, and 1.5 sheep.

PROCESS OF RECOVERING COMMODITIES AMONG ETHNIC GROUP A

I. Outline of the Process of Recovery

The process of recovering household commodities among the pastoral IDPs was analyzed using the survey data. In 2011, the average number of commodities per household was 24.7; in 2014, it was 30.0. The average increase was 10.3 and the average decrease, which was mainly due to exhaustion, was 6.0. The net increase in commodities between 2011 and 2014 was 4.7 (119%).

Before the conflict, an exhaustive household survey was conducted in 2003 on two households of Ethnic Group A that had not been affected by the conflict. The average number of household commodities was 212.5. Assuming the data represent the average commodity holdings of households, the pastoral IDPs had just 11.6% in 2011 and 14.1% in 2014 of the average number of commodities per household. This finding suggests that the pastoral IDPs survived with far less than the average household. In sum, the results suggest that the pastoral IDP households would be unlikely to successfully acquire commodities up to the level of the average household for many years after evacuation. However, the results also found that the pastoral IDPs were able to make slow progress in recovering household commodities.

II. Composition of Commodities

The composition of pastoral IDPs' household commodities was analyzed; Table 1 shows the composition in 2011. The largest percentage was clothing, at 39.3%, followed by cooking and eating utensils (22.0%) and ornaments (14.1%). Table 2 shows the composition of the increase of the same household commodities from 2011 to 2014. The increase rate for clothing was 60.1%, amounting to an increase of 134 items compared with 2011. The increase rate for cooking and eating utensils was 42.4% and the increase rate for water containers was 81.0% (from 21 items in 2011 to 38 items in 2014). Among the commodities, clothing had the highest number of items in both data sets and the percentage of clothing was higher in 2014 than 2011. Therefore, clothing was the most important commodity for the pastoral IDPs during the process of recovering household commodities.

Clothing seems to be the dominant commodity because of pastoralists' habitus

Table 1. Composition of pastoral IDPs' household commodities in 2011

Composition	Real Number	Percentage (%)
Clothing	223	39.3
Cooking and Eating Utensils	125	22.0
Ornaments	80	14.1
Mat	27	4.8
Water Container	21	3.7
Stool	20	3.5
Hatchet	20	3.5
Milk Container	18	3.2
Building Material	10	1.8
Stick	4	0.7
Flywhisk	4	0.7
Staff	2	0.4
Bedclothes	2	0.4
Lamp	2	0.4
Others	9	1.6
Total	567	100.0

Table 2. Composition of the increase of pastoral IDPs' household commodities from 2011 to 2014

Composition	Real Number	Percentage (%)
Clothing	134	56.5
Cooking and Eating Utensils	53	22.4
Water Container	17	7.2
Ornaments	15	6.3
Milk Container	4	1.7
Stool	3	1.3
Building Material	3	1.3
Mat	2	0.8
Rope	2	0.8
Others	4	1.7
Total	237	100.0

and the following conditions. First, pastoral households frequently borrow and lend cooking and eating utensils, so individual households do not need to acquire all their own cooking and eating utensils. Relatively poor households borrow from their neighbors. However, lending and borrowing clothing outside a household is not acceptable. Even touching the clothes of a member of the other sex is prohibited by pastoral community norms. Clothing is specific to the individuality and dignity of the persons affected.

Second, food and clothing are in the category of consumable goods. Cooking

and eating utensils are necessary items, but once they were acquired at the time of evacuation, they did not need frequent replacement. Among this impoverished group of people, clothes are of poor quality and tend to wear out in a short time. Therefore, clothes can be regarded as consumption items, similar to food. In addition, in the pastoral community, clothes are gift items similar to food. Clothing also serves a symbolic purpose; for example, to propose marriage, a suitor must give a cloth to the intended wife's father along with some food. In the humanitarian assistance framework, clothing is categorized as a non-food item. However, in the pastoral community, clothes are consumable items more similar to food than to non-food items.

Another important commodity is the water container. The household survey data found that the percentage of water containers increased by 81.0% between 2011 and 2014, the highest increase among all commodities. Pastoralists live in a dry climate and water containers are essential to survival. However, the durability of water containers is low under the harsh conditions of their use. Because of the need for frequent replacement, water containers also are categorized as a type of consumable commodity for the pastoralists.

III. Methods of Obtaining Commodities

The survey data were analyzed to elicit the ways that the pastoral IDPs obtained household commodities. Table 3 shows the methods used for obtaining household commodities in 2011. "Gift items from local people" including items purchased with gift money, were the most common (30.9%), followed by "carried items" at 24.3% and "purchased items" at 16.9%. These three ways to obtain household commodities comprised 72.1% of the ways to do so. Items obtained from aid agencies accounted for only 9.2%, suggesting that the pastoral IDPs obtained small numbers of non-food items from humanitarian assistance after evacuation.

Table 4 shows the pastoral IDPs' methods of obtaining household commodities from 2011 to 2014. Newly obtained items in this period amounted to 237. In 2014, about 74.7% of newly obtained commodities were "purchased items," which accounted for the largest percentage, followed by "gift items from local people"

Table 3. Methods used for obtaining household commodities in 2011

Methods	Real Number	Percentage (%)
Gift Items from Local People	175	30.9
Carried Items	138	24.3
Purchased Items*	96	16.9
Self-Made Items	55	9.7
Items Obtained from Aid Agencies	52	9.2
Found Items	51	9.0
Total	567	100.0

* Purchased with wages from casual labor.

Table 4. Pastoral IDPs' methods for newly obtaining household commodities from 2011 to 2014

Methods	Real Number	Percentage (%)
Purchased Items*	177	74.7
Gift Items from Local People	44	18.6
Self-Made Items	14	5.9
Found Items	2	0.8
Total	237	100.0

* Purchased with wages from casual labor.

(18.6%). No items were obtained from aid agencies.

The results of the two surveys were quite different. After evacuation, the pastoral IDPs had obtained household commodities mostly as gifts or purchases. Three years later, the pastoral IDPs obtained their commodities mostly by purchasing them. The "purchased items" markedly increased from 96 in 2011 to 273 in 2014—a 184.3% increase. In contrast, commodities obtained as "gift items from local people" increased from 175 in 2011 to 219 in 2014—only a 25.1% increase.

Generally, pastoral IDPs have little in the way of cash money. Therefore, all the "purchase items" reported in the survey were purchased with wages from casual labor. Several years after evacuation, some of the pastoral IDPs started working as wage laborers as, for example, night watchmen, agricultural workers, or charcoal burners. After several years, relatively affluent neighbors began to offer manual work to the pastoral IDPs such as carting water, collecting firewood, and building traditional houses, all of which had previously been categorized as activities conducted by unpaid mutual aid. This change meant that the pastoral IDPs no longer relied on neighboring and free commodities through sharing, and they had to earn money through self-help efforts. Before the conflict, pastoralists who had lost all their livestock after the drought sought casual labor as employed herdsmen. The recent emergence of casual household labor seems to be derived from the employment system of herdsmen. However, it differs from that of the herdsmen in that the wages are too small for reacquiring household livestock. The survey results also found counterevidence to the image of pastoralists as stereotypically dependent on mutual and humanitarian aid. The pastoral IDPs needed to be self-reliant and independent, even from their neighbors.

IV. Relationship between Local Donors of Commodities and Pastoral IDPs

The survey data were analyzed to reveal the relationships between local donors of commodities and the pastoral IDPs. Table 5 shows relationships in 2011. The "wife's brother" was the most common type of donor, at 36.6%, and the "wife's sister" was 23.4%, the second-highest percentage. Combined, they accounted for about 60% of local donors. Table 6 shows relationships with local donors of newly obtained household commodities from 2011 to 2014. The "wife's sister" was reported as a donor by 36.4% of the pastoralist households; this was the

Table 5. Relationships between local donors of commodities and pastoral IDPs in 2011

Relationship	Real Number	Percentage (%)
Wife's Brother	64	36.6
Wife's Sister	41	23.4
Clanmate	15	8.6
Wife's Mother	9	5.1
Husband's Brother	7	4.0
Neighbors	7	4.0
Husband's Mother	6	3.4
Daughter	6	3.4
Husband's Sister	4	2.3
Maternal Uncle of Husband	4	2.3
Friend	4	2.3
Wife's Father	2	1.1
Paternal Uncle of Wife	2	1.1
Maternal Grandmother of Wife	1	0.6
Husband of Daughter	1	0.6
Son's Wife	2	1.1
Total	175	100.0

Table 6. Relationships of local donors of newly obtained household commodities from 2011 to 2014

Relationship	Real Number	Percentage (%)
Wife's Sister	16	36.4
Husband's Mother	4	9.1
Son	4	9.1
Wife's Mother	4	9.1
Clanmate	4	9.1
Husband's Brother	2	4.5
Husband's Friend	2	4.5
Suitor to Husband's Sister	1	2.3
Husband's Sister	1	2.3
Father (within household)	1	2.3
Brother of Wife's Mother	1	2.3
Wife's Friend	1	2.3
Election Campaigner	1	2.3
Wife's Brother	1	2.3
Daughter	1	2.3
Total	44	100.0

largest percentage. This survey result suggests that female ties are the most important in relationships between local donors and pastoral IDPs. The reason for this is likely related to the residential pattern of Ethnic Group A, which is regulated by the rule of paternal exogamy. After marriage, wives usually leave their parental homes and reside in their husbands' homes. Consequently, a married woman's brothers and sisters live farther from her than do her husband's brothers and sisters. When a man is displaced, his brother's household is also very likely to be displaced, whereas his wife's brothers' and sisters' households are relatively less likely to be affected and more likely to be safe. During peaceful times, a wife's brother or sister will often visit her household for socializing and will bring gifts. Additionally, they usually give the gift commodities to the wife, because wives are expected to keep and manage the household commodities. Therefore, female ties are predominate among relationships between local donors and pastoral IDPs, suggesting that it is important to assess the importance of women's ties as safety nets during humanitarian crises. The data also suggest that the stereotypical image that male ties are important safety nets for patrilineal kinsmen in pastoral societies is incorrect.

THE USES OF DISTRIBUTED GOODS OF ETHNIC GROUP C

During the period when the survey data were being collected, shortly after their evacuation, observations were made of uses of distributed goods among Ethnic Group C. The Red Cross distributed tents, water containers, saucepans, knives, dishes, cups, spoons, blankets, and packets of maize flour to the agro-pastoral IDPs of Ethnic Group C in November 2012. The IDPs used the distributed items from humanitarian agencies in their own ways. Tents were one of the distinctive aid items. Four household cases regarding tents distributed by the Red Cross in November 2012 are of interest. In the first case, after the tent was worn out (December 2012), the household constructed a traditional-style hut using the tent material (Fig. 1). After the tent was worn out in the second case (June 2013), the household constructed an enclosure of young goats and sheep with the tent material (Fig. 2). The third household constructed a new house when their tent wore out in February 2013 and used the tent material as a bed sheet (Fig. 3). Last, the fourth household constructed a grazing-camp-style temporary hut with the tent material when it was no longer usable as a dwelling (January 2013) (Fig. 4).

The tents were distributed to assist the IDPs' construction of temporary shelters. However, these four cases show that the tent material was used in many unexpected ways. In fact, most of the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have the skills to construct shelters from the vegetation around them, and tent material does not fit their construction methods. However, the tent material was not at all useless to the pastoralists, and the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists used the tent material for the other uses described above. Thus, tent material is useful to the pastoralists, but not just for its original purpose; they adapt it to meet their needs.

Fig. 1. Traditional house of Ethnic Group C

Fig. 2. An enclosure for young goats and sheep

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Last, the results of the research are summarized and its implications are considered to assess the humanitarian assistance frameworks for East African pasto-

Fig. 3. Bed sheet made from a tent

Fig. 4. Grazing-camp-style temporary hut

ralists. The analysis of the exhaustive household commodity survey revealed the following five points.

1) Pastoral IDPs' households have been slightly able to recover their lost house-

hold commodities. However, their supplies remain far below average levels, even after many years. This finding implies that pastoral IDPs need humanitarian assistance and that assuming pastoral IDPs do not suffer from displacement is misleading. Most of the nomads in this study had already shifted from pure nomadism to a semi-nomadic residential pattern. They had more permanent social ties in the residential area than they had before the evacuation. Therefore, we should not overlook the plight of pastoral IDPs.

2) Clothing is the most necessary commodity for pastoral IDPs in the process of recovering household commodities. Clothing should not be categorized as a non-food item, but as a consumable item, such as food. Water containers are also a type of consumable commodity for the pastoralists. Both are related to the conditions and habitus of the pastoralists. This finding suggests that a redefinition of the distributed items of humanitarian assistance is required, at least regarding pastoral IDPs, because clothing and water containers are rapidly consumed and require frequent replacement. Clothing is also important to maintain the dignity of the pastoralists. Therefore, regarding humanitarian assistance to the pastoral IDPs, more frequent provision of clothing and water containers is required.

3) The survey data found that the percentage of purchased commodities markedly increased between 2011 and 2014, whereas that of gifted commodities decreased. This evidence is contrary to the stereotypical images of pastoralists as depending on mutual and humanitarian assistance because purchases require the pastoral IDPs to be self-reliant and independent earners, even from their neighbors. The finding suggests that humanitarian assistance to pastoral IDPs should break free of the needs suggested by the stereotypical images of the dependency syndrome of mutual and humanitarian assistance and recognize that pastoral IDPs are surviving no better than their self-help efforts can provide. Therefore, humanitarian assistance should consider how to create economic opportunities that support continual self-help efforts among pastoral IDPs.

4) The survey results suggest that female social ties predominate among relationships between local donors and pastoral IDPs. There is a strong probability that pastoral IDPs cannot depend on their paternal kinsmen because they are most likely to also have been displaced. Thus, it is reasonable that female ties among pastoralists should be assessed as potential safety nets. If humanitarian agencies distributed emergency relief goods to women extensively, then it is very likely that the relief goods could be redistributed extensively. Furthermore, particular attention should be paid to pastoral IDPs without female ties because they are the most vulnerable people in the communities.

5) The pastoral IDPs use distributed items from humanitarian agencies in ways that meet their needs. Pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have used tent material for other uses—for example, as construction materials for traditional-style houses, as enclosures for young goats and sheep, as bed sheets, and as grazing-camp-

style temporary huts. This finding suggests that distributing humanitarian assistance items is useful for pastoralists, but not only for their original purposes: they also serve other needs. Humanitarian assistance items provide pastoralists with an opportunity to improve their lives and, at the very least, humanitarian agencies should recognize their influence.

This study's goal was to elicit implications from the articulation-sphere approach to improve humanitarian assistance frameworks by filling in conceptual gaps between the material culture of pastoralists and the non-food items of humanitarian assistance. The articulation-sphere approach makes it possible to clarify how common stereotypical images of pastoralists are misleading. For example, it is incorrect that nomads never suffer from displacement. It also is wrong to assume that pastoralists are overly dependent on mutual and humanitarian assistance. The belief that male ties to patrilineal kinsmen are most important as safety nets was diametrically opposed by the data. Finally, the idea that relief goods are always used for their original purposes was overturned.

Neither universal nor local views are free from these stereotypical images. The articulation-sphere approach makes it possible to arrive at new conclusions based on the view that the universal and the local coexist. The articulation-sphere approach opens up a new horizon beyond the stereotypes and prejudices toward pastoralists to improve humanitarian assistance frameworks to support pastoral IDPs.

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